

Anglo-Saxon Sculptures at Deerhurst

by Richard N. Bailey

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Introduction

I first saw Deerhurst more than 30 years ago when holidaying in the Cotswolds with my family. Each of us could decide on the choice of a half-day's activities. I chose Anglo-Saxon sculpture and churches. Clearly, however, I failed to convey my enthusiasm to my (then) 10-year old daughter because her diary for that day dismissed the experience with a crisp, Pevsner-like, entry: "Newent was a very strange church; it had a balcony. There was a cross and a small stone. Deerhurst wasn't very interesting". This was a rare misjudgement on her part.

Mine is not the first Newcastle contribution to the study of Deerhurst. For most of my career I looked out over the University campus at two Medieval/Tudor style buildings erected in 1911, designed by a Newcastle architect who had a major influence on the study of northern architecture and on the city's appearance in the early twentieth century. He retired to Cheltenham in 1922 and for the next 20 years engaged with Gloucestershire's archaeology. This was W. H. Knowles (d. 1943) who organised a major site clearance and excavation here in 1926.¹ In his (very much larger) Tyneside footsteps, I now hesitantly tread.

My subject is Deerhurst's stone sculpture – but only part of it. I am not going to treat the architectural mouldings, or the fluted pilasters on the high window in the west wall of the nave.² The small fragments of interlace built into the walls of adjacent buildings are also going to be ignored, as are the coffin lids embedded in the lower courses of the north porticus and the slab re-used in the north porticus door (very important – and very neglected – as those latter are for Anglo-Saxon sculptural chronology).³ Similarly I must leave to others the possible traces of scroll which can just be discerned on the chancel-arch moulding. But I am going to deal with: the beast heads which form label-stops and prokrossoi; the figure over the door to the inner porch; the so-called 'angel' set up high on the outside of the east end – and that amazing font. As we will see, that all provides more than enough explosive material for one lecture.

The beast heads

Let's start with the beast heads.⁴ Two of them act as label-stops to the chancel-arch moulding; others now terminate mouldings on the east face of the inner doorway. There are yet more label-stops, with a larger head (prokrossos) above, on the outside of the doorway now leading south to the priory farmhouse garden. A similar combination can be seen high up on the western external doorway to the second floor of the tower whilst another large head protrudes just above the western entrance door. Not all of these heads are in their original position to judge by nineteenth-century records from the Reverend George Butterworth, the vicar responsible for the 1861 restoration; that certainly is the case with the two on the inner door at the west end which seem to have been found in a blocked door on the north side of the chancel.⁵

The first thing to say about these beasts is that they offer vital clues to the fact that we now see Anglo-Saxon sculpture as it was never meant to be seen. Far from being the epitome of restrained good taste, exploiting the appearance of natural stone, these carvings were once covered in gesso and paint, glowing with colour. Across the country, traces of that paint lurk in the niches and on unworn surfaces of sculptures.⁶ Carvings could thus be transformed, mis-cuttings hidden under a gesso skin, details supplied or highlighted, identifying inscriptions added. At Deerhurst, on the chancel-arch beasts and on the animals at the west end, we find some of the best surviving evidence for the polychrome nature of Anglo-Saxon sculpture. Here we see a reddish colouring – in

York similar material has been identified as haematite or jeweller's rouge – alongside yellow ochre and what appears to be a white plaster or paint.⁷

Such polychrome tastes were not apparently limited to internal carvings. One of Philip Rahtz's discoveries during his 1970s excavations at the east end of the church was a delicate sculpture which formed part of a ninth-century cross-arm.⁸ This presumably came from the graveyard – yet it carries the remains of both red and white paint. How ironic that the resultant garish fragment, which is now so valued, would never have survived scrutiny by a modern-day Diocesan Advisory Committee!

Not only were these carvings polychrome; they could be further enriched by decorative attachments of metalwork, jewels, glass and coloured paste.⁹ We need to go abroad to a site like seventh-century Poitiers to see such decorations still in situ.¹⁰ What now remains to us in England are just traces of their former presence in, for example, the fixing-holes for their attachment at Sandbach (Cheshire) or on the local Lypiatt cross where Richard Bryant has shown that at least one of the (now battered) figures once carried a metallic halo.¹¹ Elsewhere we can even see where bits of jewellery have actually been prized from their settings,¹² whilst at Romsey (Hampshire) bits of lead still survive in the back of drilled angelic eyes; this was used to fix jewels or metal. I think that we must envisage that similar sparkling settings once existed in the deep-cut eyes of the figures on the Newent cross-shaft.¹³

Some of Deerhurst's beasts almost certainly had their jewels. For look at that animal on the north side of the chancel arch. The orifices of his ears and nostrils, seen in cross-section, are formed by a shallow curve. By contrast, the eyes are much more deeply cut with vertical sides and a flat base – just what would be expected for a jewelled or paste setting. Imagine the effect of that yellow-golden head, with blood-red fangs and eyes which flashed as they caught the light of processional candles!¹⁴ We now capture only an impoverished impression of these carvings – and you can quite understand why, in 1403 when Winchester College commissioned a new screen, they paid the painter as much as the carver.

What date are these beasts? I must begin by saying that there is a good deal of variation across the set. First, there is variety in the amount of applied carved ornament they carry – as Richard Gem has pointed out, this might be a reflex of how high up they are placed, the more elevated



Plate 1: Beast head on the north side of the chancel-arch (copyright Steve Bagshaw)

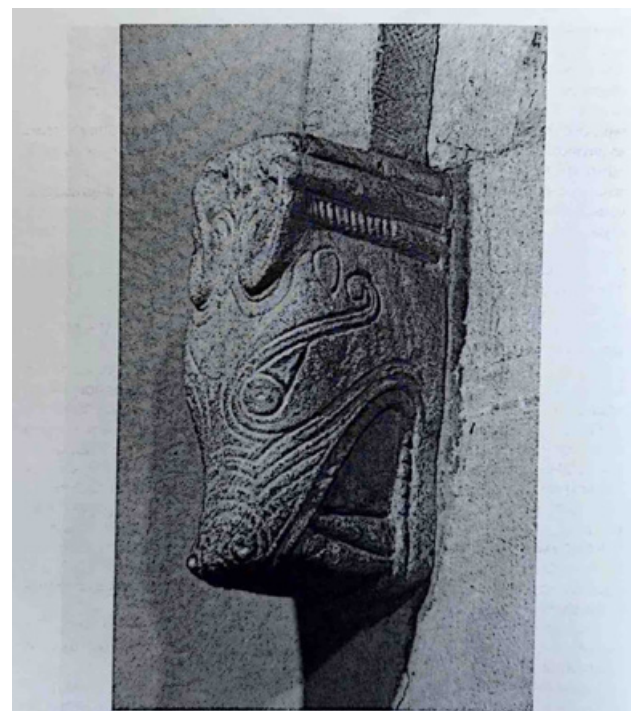


Plate 2: Beast head on the south side of the inner door at the west end (copyright British Museum)

sculptures requiring less additional decoration.¹⁵ Then there is variety, in their shape. The large prokrossoi are very different from the label-stop animals, and are also different from each other in such details as ears, muzzles and the shape of the head. Among the label-stop beasts there is similarly variety: the animal on the north side of the chancel has a much broader face than the one on the south and its ears are handled in a very different way to those at the back of the church.¹⁶ Outside, on the south side, the comma-shaped ears of the two animals curl in opposed directions to each other – in contrast to those of other animals – and both lack the inter-ear trefoil element seen on the inner door label-stops and on the chancel arch. These beasts are not, in other words, so obviously all of one piece as necessarily to be strictly contemporary with each other, still less to be the work of the same hand. Yet they do draw upon a common repertoire of motifs (eyes/ears which taper into triangles and scrolled terminals, comma-shaped ears, trefoil features between the ears, hatched muzzles) which argue that they were produced to a similar basic concept, if perhaps over a somewhat extended period.

At first sight, there can be no argument about the date of any of these carvings. The excavation and structural analysis published by Lorna Watts and Philip Rahtz, together with the summary account presented by Professor Rahtz in his 2000 Deerhurst Lecture, show these animals as associated with his Phase V which he dates (with some radio-carbon help) to the late ninth /early tenth century.¹⁷

A good case can indeed be argued for that date on art-historical grounds. But it might be worth registering some slight reservations. The most accessible of the animals, those on the inner west door, can be used to illustrate the problem.

These two label-stops are not exact twins: the one on the south carries much more detail; its ears are comma-like whilst its companion's are more oval; and it has a ribbed column at the base of its neck which either doesn't survive (or never existed) on its northern friend. Essentially, however, they are the same kind of beast, with rounded, stubby, muzzles and very little brow; their jaws equipped with a full set of canine and molar teeth set in well-marked gums. The muzzles are hatched, swirling off behind the mouth and both have a lobed trefoil arrangement between their ears (as does, in clumsier form, the chancel north-side animal). The eyes are formed by circles, with triangles behind which then develop into spirals – the chancel animal has its ears treated in this way.

Fully-modelled animal heads are found in both early and late contexts in Anglo-Saxon architecture. Thus we have an analogue for the Deerhurst prokrossoi at Escomb in County Durham, set in an eighth-century wall, whilst the west tower at Barnack (Northants.) has examples from the late Saxon period. Beast-head label-stops, now heavily worn, can also be seen in situ at Limpley Stoke.¹⁸ When we look at the Deerhurst label-stop details, however, then there is no doubt that they can be matched in ninth-century metalwork. That distinctive inter-ear trefoil, for example, is repeated on ninth-century strap-ends from Whitby whilst Richard Gem has rightly invoked a well-dated parallel in the late ninth-century Alfred jewel; this carries a rounded beast-head, with spiralling eye features, and ears incorporating circle/triangular elements which closely match those at Deerhurst.¹⁹ For further supporting evidence we might also call on the elaborate zoomorphic decoration of a shaft from St Oswald's Gloucester where, in two dimensional form, the animals repeat many of the Deerhurst details – eyes formed by circle and triangles which develop into spiral trails, canine and molar teeth in gums, low brows, hatched muzzles.²⁰ This carving has been attributed to the late ninth or early tenth century by Rosemary Cramp.²¹ There are, then, perfectly good art-historical reasons for asserting that Deerhurst's beastly decorative scheme belongs, not just to the ninth, but to the later ninth-century period assigned to Phase V by the most recent analysis of the building's structural archaeology.

I cannot however let that conclusion pass without just noting that, if that dating is accepted, then the Deerhurst animals represent a very conservative, traditional kind of art. First, individual elements of the details were perfectly familiar in eighth-century work: the eye with its circle, triangle and spiral appears locally on the

Gloucester key; the ribbed cylinder on the neck can be found on the low-browed, fanged beast of the scabbard-fitting from the River Thames; the open-jawed round head of the prokrossos above the west door closely resembles heads in the late eighth-century Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae which has a possible Worcester provenance.²²

Secondly the combination of details on these Deerhurst animals is pretty well all there on the helmet discovered at Coppergate, York, in 1982 which Dominic Tweddle's detailed study has shown belongs to the third quarter of the eighth century.²³ Here on the nasal we find similar snout texturing, eyes with triangle and scrolls, jaws and teeth set in a marked gum; and the low Deerhurst-type of brow turn up on the other beast form on the same helmet. In a more stylised manner, the hatched muzzle, scrolled eyes and ribbed moulding are also all present on the Northumbrian St Ninian's Isle chapes which again belong to the years around 800.²⁴ And at this point it is worth returning to the cross-shaft from St Oswald's mentioned earlier, for I would support the early ninth-century date assigned to it by Carolyn Heighway and Richard Bryant in their recent *Golden Minster* publication.²⁵ In summary, if it were not for the radio-carbon dated architectural context, I believe that I could mount a reasonable case for these heads belonging to the period around 800.

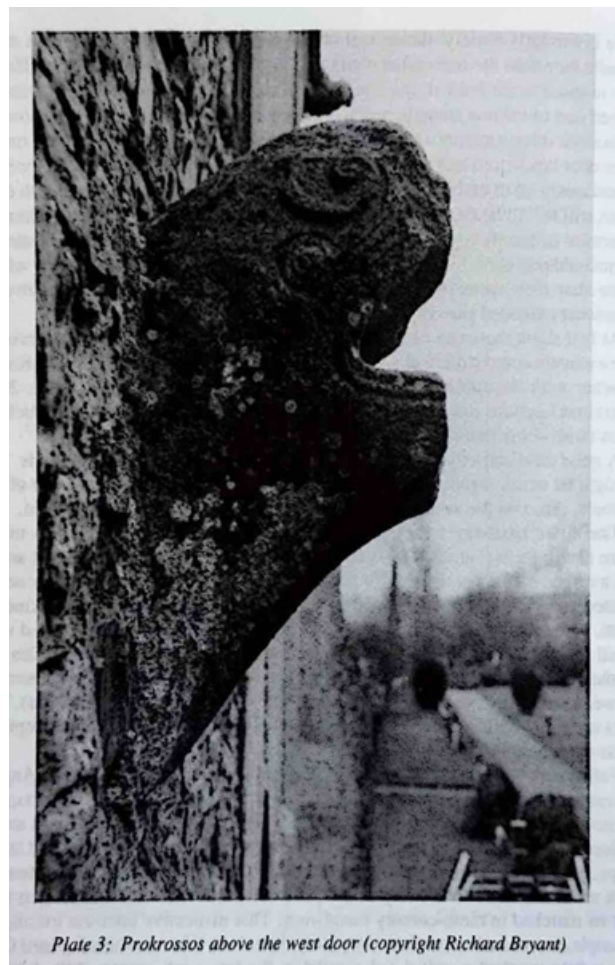


Plate 3: *Prokrossos* above the west door (copyright Richard Bryant)

We are clearly in chronologically sticky territory here. But we perhaps ought to realise that the periodisation of Deerhurst's structure – and the assignment of radio-carbon dates to those phasings – is a highly complex issue.²⁶ All that is claimed here is that, if these animal carvings do belong to the later ninth century, then a visiting Northumbrian aesthete, coming to Deerhurst in expectation of savouring advanced Mercian tastes, would have left severely disappointed.

The Virgin carving

The carving set over the west face of the central wall of the tower appears to be in situ, and not inserted, though it could of course be a piece which had been recycled from an earlier existence – an iconic re-use of the type noted by David Stocker at Hovingham and Middleton in Yorkshire where eighth-century cross plaques have been re-set in eleventh-century towers.²⁷ Here we have a haloed figure set under an arched frame which has slab capitals; discs are superimposed on the deeply-cut broad border.²⁸ The figure's arms enclose an oval shape set over the breast and drapery trails fall away on either side. The feet overlap a pierced high platform. The figural carving is almost abstract in form with a smooth surface and little additional detail; it is however possible to pick out an incised frame on the oval shape.

Many early commentators saw this figure as either mutilated or unfinished.²⁹ But we need to keep in mind what those beasts have already told us: that detail can be worked up in paint and need not necessarily be carved onto

a surface. Close examination of the stone does indeed show that it carries traces of red pigment, particularly in the halo area. The function of the relief and incised carving therefore was merely to act as a basic guide to what needed to be further developed in paint.³⁰ And what needed to be worked up in paint here was a depiction of the Virgin holding a clipeus (shield) on which the figure of Christ is displayed – the clipeus being an imperial Roman device, adopted into Christian art, for signalling elevation.³¹ Given the proportions of the Deerhurst figure I think that she was designed to be shown seated.

Now this type of 'Virgin with Christ on shield' portrayal has its roots in Byzantine and eastern Mediterranean art. And here it is perhaps useful to distinguish two co-existing and inter-related types.³² The first has a round clipeus and shows a bust portrait of Christ. This is a form which can be found on Imperial seals of Justinian and Tiberius in the 527–82 period; late in the sixth century it figures on an Armenian sculpture from Khandisi whilst it also features, in fairly schematic form, on some late sixth/early seventh-century gold disks now in Berlin.³³ By the seventh century it can be found both among the wall paintings of the chapel of St Simeon Stylites in the church of St Catherine at Mount Sinai and on work from Saqqaa.³⁴ It was presumably through some portable, and schematically illustrated, version that the type reached early Northumbria where it turns up on the eighth-century Franks Casket.³⁵ That, however, is the only occasion on which that particular form is recorded in Anglo-Saxon England but it provides a salutary lesson in the deep and far-stretching roots of Anglo-Saxon Christian ornament.

Though this circular clipeus type had a continued life in Russia, reaching right through into the eighteenth century (usually with Mary shown with hands raised in the orans position), later western examples seem to be limited to zones of Byzantine influence: the eleventh century 'Virgin Platytera' in Santa Mater Maria Domini in Venice provides a well-known example.³⁶

More relevant to Deerhurst, however, is the second type in which Christ is set on an oval shield and is shown full-length. In this form he usually appears as an adult, thus emphasising the pre-existent nature of the now-incarnate Deity, who is the everlasting as well as a man born of Mary. There are numerous examples of this variant from the late sixth and early seventh century in the eastern Mediterranean: in manuscripts like a late sixth-century Syriac Bible now in Paris (B.N., Syr 341) and the late sixth/early seventh-century Armenian Ecmiadzin Gospels (Yerevan, Matenadaran MS 2374); on a seventh-century fresco in the chapel of St Apollo at Bawit in Egypt; on a seventh-century icon from St Catherine on Mount Sinai; and on Byzantine seals from the first half of the seventh century.³⁷ In the west it appears at that remarkable church of S. Maria Antiqua in the Forum in Rome where, among its palimpsest wall paintings, an example has survived from Pope Paul I's redecoration of the building between 757 and 767.³⁸ And then in the middle years of the ninth century it re-appears, with an enthroned Madonna of 'Byzantine empress' form, on a fresco in the crypt of the monastic church of S Maria in Insula in San Vincenzo al Volturno (near Monte Cassino) among decoration of the period 824–42.³⁹ As with the other (bust) variant, the Deerhurst type lives on in Byzantine and eastern areas well into the twelfth century and beyond; in Gelati in Georgia, for example, there is a huge apse painting carrying this form which dates to the sixteenth century.⁴⁰

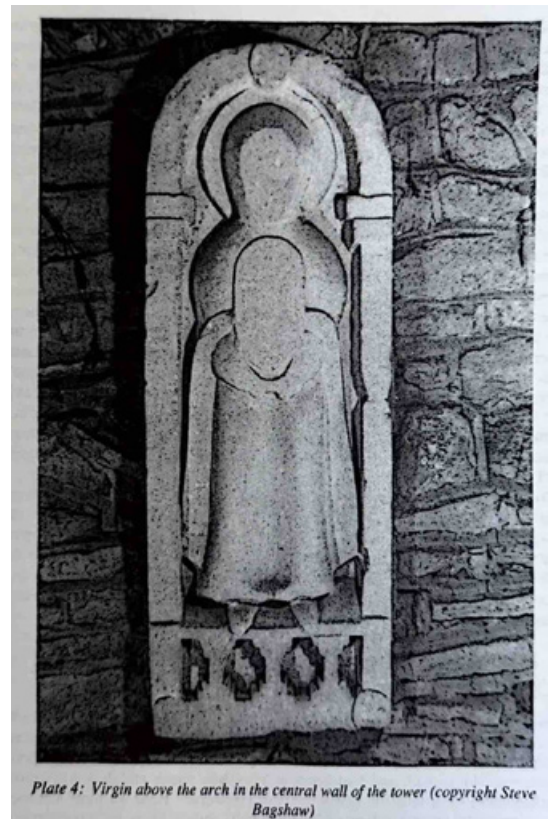


Plate 4: Virgin above the arch in the central wall of the tower (copyright Steve Bagshaw)

Three points emerge from this rapid review. Firstly, like the 'Franks casket variant', this Deerhurst carving is a totally isolated iconographic survival from Anglo-Saxon England – even if, in the odd detail like the flying drapery, it has its cousinly relations in Virgin depictions like that from Shelford in Nottinghamshire.⁴¹ Secondly it reflects some form of contact with the Byzantine east, either directly through pilgrims' portable souvenirs or, more likely, through the intermediary of work produced in Byzantine areas of the west like Rome or Milan. In view of the chronological range of the examples we have noted from the west it would be difficult to be dogmatic about the date of the model used by the Deerhurst sculptor. It might, for example, have come into this general region with the numerous portraits of Mary, recorded in a poem of 705 in connection with Aldhelm's pupil Æthilwald.⁴² Equally it could have arrived in that late eighth/early ninth-century period when Carolingian artists were so open to Late Antique and East Christian forms, and when we have seen the form was being used in Italy. But that is to pick up only two from a host of possibilities.

Thirdly the model was clearly an ambitious one. Look, for example, at the manner in which the foot runs over the edge of the platform, echoing the three-dimensional illusions of such pieces as the ninth-century Metropolitan Museum ivory of St John, or the early ninth-century Lorsch Gospels cover – or, indeed, material from Late Antique art.⁴³ And then notice that curious platform with its (surely quite deliberately symbolic) cruciform apertures; this is, I suggest, an Anglo-Saxon version (using insular slab bases and capitals such as those appearing on a cross at Hoddom) of the architectural details which we find on the plinths of some of the more elaborate Byzantine ivories.⁴⁴ And those discs? They are not unfamiliar in insular art, and the parallels suggest what might have been painted on them. Perhaps they were abstract patterns like those on the Clonmacnoise cross, or more symbolic motifs such as the representations of the Trinity analogous to the evangelist symbols on a crucifixion ivory in the Victoria and Albert Museum.⁴⁵ It would however perhaps be in keeping with the ambitious nature of the carving to suggest that, set alongside those aspects of the eternal and incarnate God encapsulated in the clipeus image, the three discs carried emblems of Christ's complex nature: ascension eagle; sacrificial lamb; and resurrection lion.

In strictly art-historical terms we cannot really date this piece. But all that we have seen would be perfectly consistent with the late eighth/early ninth-century date suggested for its context in phase IV of the building's evolving structure. And a final question. What was it doing there? In answer it is worth remarking on both its isolation and its accessibility. The Deerhurst Virgin represents a classic example from what Ernst Kitzinger characterised as the era of the devotional image, a period when systematic programmes of the type seen at Ravenna have disappeared, and a single image, full of amuletic functions and conjuring up a spiritual presence, dominates the art of Christianity.⁴⁶ This protective amuletic carving is set over the entrance to a church which in later times was dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

That cannot be just coincidence. We know that the Synod of Chelsea in 816 required a consecrating bishop to ensure that a dedication inscription be set in the church.⁴⁷ Was this an extended statement of the dedication and its protector? And, in that function, can we compare the eighth-century figure of (?)St Peter, still partially surviving over the entrance to Monkwearmouth?⁴⁸

The 'angel' on the apse

High up on the external south side of (what was once) the polygonal apse is a panel carrying a winged figure.⁴⁹ There has been much debate as to whether this carving is a later insertion: Baldwin Brown's photograph, taken before a series of restorations, might suggest that it is secondary but both Harold Taylor and Philip Rahtz were convinced that it is integral with the pilaster strip framing of the apse.⁵⁰

If we accept that it is part of the original structure then we are once more plunged into problems of contextual chronology. For, as part of the apse, then it should belong either to the late eighth/early ninth-century date of its phase IV construction, or represent a re-used piece from an earlier period.⁵¹ Yet that date is totally at odds with the dating conventionally given to the sculpture – witness Rosemary Cramp’s words, “by common consent, this carving is referred to the tenth century” or Kendrick’s description of it as “one of the grandest carvings on this side of the Danelaw boundary”.⁵² There is clearly something wrong here and Philip Rahtz characteristically exposed the dilemma when he wrote: “Whilst [the carving’s] dating is still a matter of debate, sometime in the later ninth or tenth century is generally accepted... consistent with this is the evidence provided by radio-carbon determinations... which extend between, at two sigma probability, cal. AD 811–1030 and cal AD 789–1027... a date [for period IV] in the late eighth–early ninth century or later is thus indicated”.⁵³ Thus we seem to have a tenth-century carving integral to an early ninth-century wall.



Plate 5: Drawing of the angel in the apse (copyright Richard Bryant)

Thanks to the latest photographs and Richard Bryant’s excellent drawing (now available as a postcard in the church), produced in association with the recent conservation of this carving, I think we can resolve this disjunction. Bryant shows something rather different from what we thought we had, the face in particular being much less gaunt than earlier reproductions had suggested. The figure has a well-modelled youthful face; the eyelids on the wide eyes are particularly well delineated and the pupils are raised. There is a slightly wedge-shaped nose, a well-shaped mouth with, below, a marked chin. The hair is of a classical type incorporating two rows of forward-combed curls, gathered by a ‘triple tie’ set below the ears.⁵⁴ The wings carefully distinguish between scapular and covert feathers.

Contrary to current orthodoxy I do not believe that there is any compelling argument to associate this character with tenth-century angels of the type we know from Winterbourne Steepleton and Bradford on Avon.⁵⁵ Their drapery, hair-types and pose are not relevant to what we have at Deerhurst, though they can be easily paralleled in Late Saxon manuscripts like the Arenberg Gospels or Sherborne Pontifical.⁵⁶ I want to argue, rather, that there is no difficulty in finding analogues for this apse carving in the early years of the ninth century. It draws on a ‘youthful face + triple-tie hair’ type which, as Jane Hawkes has shown, was already being widely employed for figures of Christ in seventh/eighth-century Northumbria (Cuthbert coffin; carvings at Hoddum, Ruthwell and Rothbury).⁵⁷ Closer to hand in north-eastern Mercia we can find relevant sculptural parallels around the year 800 in the well-modelled, classical types of figure known at both Peterborough and nearby Fletton – and I draw particular attention to Fletton’s angelic double row of curls.⁵⁸ Just slightly later, into the ninth century, an angel on the cross at Eyam in Derbyshire offers a further close parallel.⁵⁹ Away from stone sculpture, the figure of St Michael on the Mortain Casket provides a good analogue for the total Deerhurst combination of modelled, full-face, large-eyed type with triple-tied hair, wedge-shaped nose and prominent chin; this also dates to the late eighth/early ninth century.⁶⁰

But perhaps the closest parallels for this figural treatment are supplied by the evangelist portraits and Matthew symbol in the Book of Cerne, a manuscript now in Cambridge University Library which contains the passion narrative from the four gospels, meditative texts and prayers.⁶¹ The manuscript’s faces vary slightly – some of

them are chubbier than others – but they all have the same youthful appearance with large staring eyes whose lids are coloured in and whose pupils are raised; the hair forms sport classical curls and ‘triple ties’ whilst the faces have a somewhat wedge-shaped nose and a marked chin. Michelle Brown’s recent important studies of this manuscript, and its associated books, place it in the period 820 × 840 – neatly within the period to which Philip Rahtz would assign the polygonal apse. What is more, Brown has assembled a strong case for the Book of Cerne being originally a Worcester (or Lichfield) product. I would argue therefore that the figural art of the Deerhurst angel, along with that of the Book of Cerne, is a western Mercian version of a late eighth /early ninth-century classical revival, no doubt a reflex of the Carolingian renaissance, which can now be recognised across large parts of Anglo-Saxon England – and which is particularly well-marked sculpturally in north-eastern Mercia and parts of Northumbria.⁶²

If we accept that the carving is contemporary with the apse in which it is set, then we need to confront a second issue. What is it doing there? Mercian sculpture is full of angels but what is the function of this particular character?

I did wonder if, perhaps, Mackay was right and that we shouldn’t be thinking in angelic terms at all, but of this as being the ‘man’ symbol of St Matthew.⁶³ In this case it would once have formed part of a set of four evangelist symbols (man, calf, lion and eagle) – symbols which had emerged in Christian thought and iconography from the living creatures of Ezekiel’s vision (Ezekiel I.10) and the four beasts surrounding the enthroned lamb of The Revelation of St John (V.6). Mackay’s suggestion is, of course, a particularly attractive interpretation when we recall the very similar symbol of the evangelist Matthew in the Book of Cerne. If this proposal were accepted, of course, then we would need to supply themes to fill the remaining, central, three sides of the polygonal apse – Christ with Mary and John perhaps?

There is, however, another much more alluring, solution staring us in the face. Recall that we know that there were seven bays to the apse, of which this angel-bearing one is the sole survivor. Now seven is, very happily, the canonical number of archangels – that is the total count found in the Book of Tobias (XII.15) and the Book of Enoch (XX) – and, rather less apocryphally, in The Revelation of St John (VIII.2 and XV.1). And it is also the number who turn up, all named, in insular sources like an incantation in the Bobbio Missal or, significantly from our point of view, among the prayers in two British Library manuscripts – the fragmentary B.L., Harley 7653 and B.L., Royal 2.A.XX, which Michelle Brown has shown to have Worcester associations and dates to the early ninth century.⁶⁴ This is not to claim that Western Mercia stood alone in its interest in the seven archangels – Patrick Sims-Williams, for example, has noted an eighth-century northern French manuscript with similar concerns.⁶⁵ But the Worcester manuscripts show that there was just such an interest regionally at precisely this c. 800/840 period when, I suggest, the Deerhurst figure was carved.⁶⁶

Let us now pile hypothesis on hypothesis. Having promoted the Deerhurst angel to archangel status (even if, sadly, we don’t know his name) we have to ask: what was he doing there? Are we to see here some sort of cut-down version of what perhaps existed later at the Winchester New Minster (built 980 × 988), as described in the early-eleventh century *Liber Vitae*, in which a whole set of carvings were apparently set at differing floor levels up the tower?⁶⁷ I wonder, however, whether we shouldn’t see these archangels (now pluralised from our single example) in a slightly different light – the light shed by the seven’s only other joint appearance in Anglo-Saxon art on the Cuthbert coffin, prepared for the Northumbrian saint’s translation in 698.⁶⁸ There they figure, lightly incised and all labelled, alongside Mary, the apostles, and Christ surrounded by symbols of the four evangelists. Yet that set of figures can never have been seen with any ease; even if the coffin were ever unwrapped from the textiles in which it was usually enveloped, the scratched lines are barely visible until viewed from within a foot or so of the object. Starting from this recognition, Ernst Kitzinger and Julian Brown have rightly concluded that the coffin figures form a visual protective prayer, a litany, set around the sacred body; the iconic figures acting as its apotropaic,

protective guardians.⁶⁹

This is precisely the sort of role in which the archangels are invoked in the personal prayers contained in the Book of Cerne, and in the Worcester Harley and Royal manuscripts already mentioned. Here they figure in prayers invoking protection from illness, death and supernatural adversity: “Gabriel be my breastplate; Michael be my weapon’s girdle; Raphael be my shield; Uriel be my protector; Rumiel be my defence; Phannihel be my stay.”⁷⁰

Consider now the Deerhurst archangels against this background. Set over 18 feet up, unlike the Deerhurst Virgin they are positioned far from easy visual reading; they can never have acted as objects of reflective contemplation in a monastic milieu. They were not accessible icons to be revered by man as a gateway to the world of the spirit. Rather, did they not act like the Cuthbert coffin figures, placing Deerhurst under archangelic protection? That mutilated winged figure, I propose, is the last remaining sentinel of a seven-strong detachment of spiritual guards set over the church and its community.

The font

Finally I turn to the font. It has, of course, a fascinating history. Back in 1846 a small illustration of the bowl was published alongside a note that the basin had been kept in a farmyard for many years.⁷¹ The writer however lamented that it had just been sold for £6. Fortunately the buyer was Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford who, one might have thought, had enough on his hands inheriting a diocese riven by Pusey and Newman, both then in full flow, without engaging in rescue-archaeology. He gave it to Longdon church. Then, in 1870, Miss Strickland of Apperley Court found a carved stone about a mile and a half from Deerhurst and acutely recognised that its spiral decoration matched that on the font bowl from Longdon.

She arranged for the two stones to come to Deerhurst (presenting a replacement font to Longdon) and there they were fitted together as we now have them.⁷²

Before we engage with more contentious issues we need to clear some of the undergrowth around this object. The first question is whether the stem and bowl really do form original parts of a composite structure as Miss Strickland believed. I think that this can be answered in the affirmative – but it is a rather complicated ‘yes’. We need to recognise that both the present stem and bowl carry (as we will see) a rare form of ornament in the spiral motif. What is more, that ornament has been carved on cylinders, which are equally rare shapes in Anglo-Saxon sculpture. And, finally, the two elements do seem to fit well together. If therefore the two components did not originally form part of the same object then we have two possibilities. On the one hand we would have to argue that two distinct cylindrical carvings (perhaps round-shafted crosses) once existed locally which had both a rare shape and a rare ornament in common – and happily could be cut to fit well together. On the other hand, and more likely, we would have to interpret the elements as two near-contiguous sections of the same



Plate 6: The font from the south-east (copyright Steve Bagshaw)

round-shafted cross or column which had been cut so as to form the present monument, the basin-stone being reversed in the process. The well-known column from Wolverhampton, with its tapering circumference, provides a model for understanding how two cylinders of different girth could be taken from a single monument.⁷³ My problem with this suggestion however is that I can find no round-shafted cross or column which produces an outline profile analogous to that of the Deerhurst bowl with its sharp in-turn at the base. On balance therefore I believe that the two stones belonged together, in their present relationship, from the beginning.

More difficult is the related problem of whether this composite structure originally acted as a font or only took on that specific function at a later, presumably post-Conquest, date. When I delivered the original version of this lecture in 2002, I had convinced myself that the carving had always been a font; now I am less certain. Why is there this difficulty? There is, first, a practical argument that there seems to be no trace of an original drain hole. But since we are ignorant about the actual processes of disposal of font water at this period this may not be a telling objection.

More undermining to the case is the fact that free-standing stone fonts with any claim to belong to the pre-Norman period are extremely rare. I suspect that many scholars, indeed, would deny that they existed at all either in England or in northern Europe before the middle years of the eleventh century.⁷⁴ This negative conclusion might be held to be supported by the revelation that O.E. *fant* means 'consecrated water' and that the compound *fant-stan* is recorded for the first time only in post-Conquest texts.⁷⁵ Is there then any physical evidence for their existence in the Anglo-Saxon period? Archaeologically there are two clear examples. The first comes from Tintagel, where fragments of a (seemingly undecorated) tub-shaped font do seem, on stratigraphical grounds, to be of pre-Conquest date. The second piece of evidence comes from Barton on Humber where excavations in the western porticus of the Late Saxon church showed that it was furnished with a fixed font of unknown form.⁷⁶ In addition to this excavated evidence we have eight surviving fonts (other than Deerhurst) whose decoration or inscriptions might be claimed to justify their dating to the Anglo-Saxon period.⁷⁷ All are cylindrical. Unfortunately they are not, on close examination, very convincing witnesses. Three of them carry ornament which could be of early Norman date; the inscription on a fourth decorated example, from Little Billing (Northants.), is not assuredly pre-Conquest whilst the font from Potterne (Wilts.), though its Psalm inscription is in a form which is in an Anglo-Saxon tradition, has been epigraphically assigned to the Norman period. That leaves only four examples which more certainly carry pre-Norman decoration: Deerhurst, Wells, Wilne (Derbyshire) and Melbury Bubba (Dorset). And of those four, the latter two were demonstrably not originally fonts but parts of circular shafts, tipped upside down in their later re-use; this is clear from the arrangement and partial survival of their ornament. Only Wells remains as a (seeming) original decorated Anglo-Saxon font to set alongside Deerhurst and not all commentators have followed Warwick Rodwell's claims for its pre-Conquest date.

If therefore we are to accept Deerhurst's monument as a pre-Norman font then we must recognise that it is a very rare survival indeed. It would therefore be easier to explain the bowl as having been hollowed out for its present use at a later date. We would still be left with the problem of how the numerous documentary instructions on the necessity for infant baptism were fulfilled within the period: were portable, perhaps wooden, containers employed or did wells and rivers figure more prominently in what Richard Morris felicitously described as 'al fresco initiation'?⁷⁸ But that would be a problem for others. Yet three reservations hold me back from taking that route. First, the Tintagel and Barton on Humber evidence shows that some form of pre-Norman free-standing font did exist elsewhere, at least in the Late Saxon period. Secondly, as noted above, whilst I accept that some round shafts, like that at Wolverhampton,⁷⁹ combine cylindrical panels of decoration with raised ornamented borders – an organisation relevant to Deerhurst – I cannot find any round-shafted cross which would yield a profile like that of the Deerhurst carving.⁸⁰ And finally, as we will see, the iconography of the bowl is highly appropriate for a baptismal function. Stubbornly, then, I will continue to treat the carving as an Anglo-Saxon font.

What, then, does the ornament tell us about the date of the carving? The bowl is decorated with spiral pattern, organised in blocks or panels, bounded above and below by continuous runs of scroll ornament. The base carries the same spiral pattern but, alternating with it, are panels of highly disciplined, well-spaced, knotwork. Examining this knotwork in early 2002, under less than ideal lighting, I noticed that it contained a zoomorphic element. I had some difficulty in sorting out the pattern but knew that Steven Plunkett, when producing his very important study of eastern Mercian carvings, had taken rubbings of many carvings in this area.⁸¹ Very generously he has allowed me to use his drawings here. What they show is a composition made up from confronted animal heads; these terminate knotwork strands which are taut and set against a clear background. The strands carry median grooves which then broaden into contoured bodies, decorated with hatching.

The presence of this zoomorphic knotwork is important. In his choice of spiral and scroll motifs, the carver of the bowl might otherwise appear to be regionally isolated. But here, on the stem, he has responded to a widespread regional taste. For the Deerhurst knotwork and animals represent a fairly simple, stripped-down, version of a kind of interlace and animal decoration which characterises the ‘Colerne School’, a group of carvings (with a good deal of variety within them) which is widely distributed across the south west, embracing Hampshire, Wiltshire, Somerset, Dorset, Devon, Worcestershire and Gloucestershire.⁸² The dating of this school is controversial, but Dominic Tweddle has made a very strong case, based on both metalwork and manuscript parallels in such items as the Northumbrian Coppergate helmet and the Mercian Leningrad Gospels, for a floruit around 800; many examples could, however, be as late as the early tenth century.⁸³

Moving up to the bowl, it is fair to assert that the use of spiral patterns suggests that it is unlikely that the carving was produced at a date far into the ninth century. This is a rare motif in Anglo-Saxon sculpture, though it was being enthusiastically exploited on high-quality carvings in north-east Mercia around 800 – on architectural fragments at Breedon in Leicestershire and South Kyme in Lincolnshire, and on the (Peterborough) Gandersheim Casket.⁸⁴ And all the evidence we have from manuscripts and metalwork shows that this type of ornament, whilst popular in the eighth century (e.g. *Vespasian Psalter* and *Codex Aureus*), does not remain in vogue far into the ninth – it hardly figures, for example, in the masses of surviving ninth-century Trewhiddle metalwork.⁸⁵ En passant we might note that the spiral ornament on a slab from Bradford on Avon, where the decoration has taken on a near key-pattern form, although now in the c. 1000 chapel, originally came from the parish church and cannot be dated by its current context.⁸⁶

A date in the later eighth or early ninth century thus seems indicated. And the parallels for the organisation and foliate/fruited details of its very precise scroll point to the same conclusion. Thus the ‘Lechmere stone’, a sculpture which originated somewhere in Worcestershire and is now in Hanley Castle, employs a version of Deerhurst’s elaborate ‘fruit plus multiple leaf’ motif; its figural style and cross-form offers a parallel from the first half of the ninth century.⁸⁷ The font’s very distinctive leaf form, with its sharply scalloped back and curling terminal, might seem to run counter to a late eighth/early ninth-century date since it occurs frequently across mid to late ninth-century art (e.g., Dymchurch strap-end; Abingdon sword; Etheleswyth ring; Alfred jewel) and even persists into the tenth on the Cuthbert vestments and in Winchester art.⁸⁸ But it already figures in two crucial early ninth-century manuscripts: the *de luxe* bible B.L., Royal 1E VI and the Book of Cerne.⁸⁹ The St John page from the late eighth-century Barberini Gospels offers a further parallel. It shows an eastern figure, in stylised spatial setting, surrounded by a rather spare but exotic scroll. Among the foliate details in that manuscript’s scroll is the closest parallel available for the make-up of Deerhurst’s rare 3-leaf/4-fruit motif; elsewhere on the same page there is a leaf with a double set of pellets at its base which bears comparison with the font’s occasional foliate frippery.⁹⁰ The manuscript is here using (ultimately) Byzantine foliage forms, and it is presumably from the same source that Deerhurst derives its motifs.

Finally, a dating in the decades around 800 A.D. would be consonant with the general organisation of the scroll.

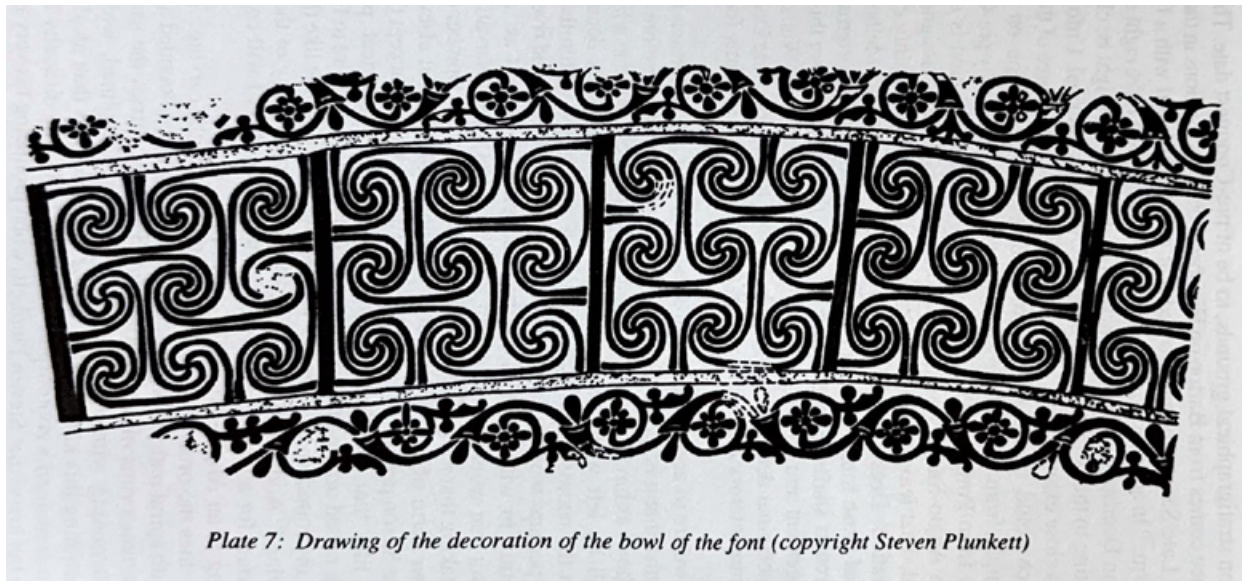


Plate 7: Drawing of the decoration of the bowl of the font (copyright Steven Plunkett)

For in its playful, carefully neat, alternating spiralling form it can best be compared with ornament in the late-eighth/early-ninth century ‘Tiberius’ group of manuscripts.⁹¹ Everything thus points to the period around the beginning of the ninth century as the date when (what is now) the font was carved.

A wise man would stop at that point but I think it worth exploring one issue further – the iconography of the carving – for it bears upon the original function of the stone. This enquiry involves stepping into the world of sacred numerology.

A numerological excursion

In the baptistery of S. Tecla in Milan there was a very large octagonal font used for complete immersion. It carried an inscription, attributed to St Ambrose, which was probably placed there at the re-building of the late fifth century. It read:

“The temple of eight niches rose up for holy use, the octagonal fountain is appropriate for that rite (of baptism). It was fitting that the house of holy baptism rise up to this number, by which true salvation returned for mankind... with the light of Christ rising again, of Christ who opens the gates of death and raises the dead from their tombs, and (freeing confessed sinners from the stain of sin) cleanses them with the water of the pure-flowing font.”⁹²

Both the font and the baptistery, then, for Ambrose in some way carry significance because they are octagonal or have eight niches – and in some way this number eight is associated with the resurrection of Christ and the raising of the dead.

Let’s deal first with the number eight and resurrection. The association of the resurrection with this numeral has a long history reaching back to at least the second century. And we can pick it up, already well established, in the writings of the early Christian Fathers of the fourth and fifth century, whose commentaries profoundly shaped subsequent medieval thought and art. St Ambrose, discussing Psalm 47 writes: “He, Christ, by his resurrection, sanctified the eighth day” whilst St Augustine, in Letter LV, which became one of the most influential of texts on Christian numerology, draws on a whole series of Old Testament references to eights and concludes: “Wherefore, although the sacramental import of the eighth number, as signifying the resurrection, was by no means concealed from the Holy Men of old, nevertheless, before the resurrection of the Lord, it was reserved and hidden”.⁹³ And here, finally, is Bede: “They did not recognise the most profound spiritual meaning of the Sabbath... the Lord...

would rest on the seventh day in the sepulchre until he would rise again on the eighth day”.⁹⁴

Behind all this lies a complex, subtle combination of mathematical, historical and biblical commentary involving the sacramental and moveable feasts of Christ’s passion and their relationship to established days of the Christian and Jewish week.⁹⁵ We do not, thankfully, need to do the sums again here; we can merely accept that it is a patristic commonplace that Christ rose on the eighth day and that eight is thus a numeral of resurrection. So commonplace is it that it can be riddlingly invoked in both liturgy⁹⁶ and in art: broadly contemporary with the font, for example, we have the eight disks on the resurrection cross of the Book of Kells, the eight bosses on the opposite face to a crucifixion on a ninth-century Clonmacnoise cross and a similar cluster on the great slab from Nigg in Scotland.⁹⁷

Eight thus evokes Christ’s resurrection, as the Milan inscription suggests. But that inscription also indicates that another resonant eight is involved – the eighth Age of the world in which all will be raised again. Here again our best starting point is St Augustine in whose writings we constantly find the notion of the eighth day of Christ’s resurrection layered over, interwoven with, notions of the eighth Age of final paradise. It is there in his commentary on the Sermon on the Mount where he realises that there are eight sentences in Christ’s address “blessed are...” and that it is in the eighth sentence that the kingdom of heaven is invoked.⁹⁸ And it is there again at the end of his *City of God* where he uses the creation story as the basis of his numerology, arguing that Man lives in the Sixth Age, which is now passing, and “after this Age, God will rest, as on the seventh day; and he will give us, who will be that seventh day, rest in himself” [and after that Seventh Age there will follow] “the Lord’s Day, as an eighth and eternal day, consecrated by the resurrection of Christ, and prefiguring the eternal rest”.⁹⁹ Bede, in a basic work on time which was widely used in monastic and other schools in the early Middle Ages, made the same point: “and we also will rise again, not only after the seven fleeting days of this World-Age, but also after the aforementioned Seven Ages, at once in the Eighth Age and upon the eighth day”.¹⁰⁰

And what has this to do with baptism? Paul’s Epistle to the Romans (VI. 3–4.) gives the answer: “Know ye not that all we who are baptised in Jesus Christ are baptised into his death? Therefore we are buried together with him by baptism into death; that as Christ is risen from the dead by the glory of the Father, we may also walk in newness of life”. Baptism involves a mystical dying and rising again, a participation in Christ’s own resurrection (which, of course, took place on the eighth day and shadows the Eighth Age).

We need not pursue this much further. Bede’s sermons on the marriage at Cana and on the Christmas octave (when the reading concerns the circumcision of Christ, which according to Luke took place at the end of eight days) – to say nothing of several pseudo-Bedan sermons on the same topic – show all these ideas well established in the basic Christian teachings of Anglo-Saxon England: “In the circumcision of the eighth day you may understand baptism, which has redeemed us from the death of our sins into the mystery of the Lord’s resurrection ... furthermore you can interpret the day of circumcision [as a symbol] of the general resurrection of the human race when....all mortality will be changed into immortality”.¹⁰¹ And at the end of the pre-Norman period the Anglo-Saxon homilist Ælfric makes exactly the same kind of statement. The resurrection symbolism of eight was thus particularly charged within the context of baptism.¹⁰²

Across the early Christian world the physical form of baptisteries and their font basins brought out this octaval symbolism. Constantine’s (now destroyed) Lateran Baptistery in Rome had an immense octagonal font of porphyry ornamented with silver – and Pope Sergius III set eight columns around it.¹⁰³ The Orthodox baptistery in Ravenna, and churches in Poitiers, Lyons and Frejus in the fifth and sixth centuries all had eight-sided font basins as did Cividale in the eighth.¹⁰⁴ And there is at least the possibility that the well in the porticus at the Old Minster, Winchester, was octagonal internally in the tenth century (and perhaps even in the seventh).¹⁰⁵ They all reflect the same symbolism and understanding.



Plate 8: Drawing of the decoration of the stem of the font (copyright Steven Plunkett)

What then of the archaeology of the font in Anglo-Saxon England against this background? If, as some would claim, there are no surviving fonts from this period then the answer is a deafening silence. But, if we do accept the possibility that both Wells and Deerhurst functioned in the pre-Conquest period as fonts, then their decorative organisation can be seen as highly relevant to their purpose. For Warwick Rodwell has perceptively shown that Wells originally featured figures set under niches.¹⁰⁶ In total there are eight such niches. And Deerhurst's spirals are similarly organised into eight panels.

Within the same century as the font at Deerhurst was carved, the Irish Carolingian scholar John Scotus Eriugena (d. 877/879) wrote about the number eight, of its relationship to Sunday and Easter, of its symbolism of resurrection and regeneration, of spring and new life, of baptism and immortality.¹⁰⁷ All these different connotations are, he says, ever present and 'vibrate' within him as he thinks of that number; they are 'part of the harmony of things'. Now I don't suggest that Deerhurst could boast of a scholar of John Scotus' standing but I would argue that the community here, soaked in the commentaries and teachings of the Fathers, their perceptions of symbolism constantly nourished by the patterns of the liturgy, living in what has been called 'an atmosphere of meanings' would be no less aware of the baptismal implications of the octaval ornamental organisation of their carving.¹⁰⁸ If that sculpture were not originally a font then all one can claim is that it was a very happy coincidence that its decoration was highly appropriate when it was adapted to that purpose.

Conclusion

All of the carvings I have discussed thus emerge as work of the early decades of the ninth century. This is, of course, the period when Deerhurst received a very large land-grant and it would be appropriate that its architectural and liturgical sculpture should reflect the ambition and investment that grant no doubt brought in its train.¹⁰⁹ But even if my datings prove unacceptable it is worth reflecting on what this sculpture, frequently coloured and decorated, is telling us about the early church at Deerhurst. In the sheer quantity of architectural sculpture we see reflected a very sophisticated building programme, with all that implies about the availability of resources to this community. In the Mary figure we can trace the far-flung, often rather esoteric, sources of Christian art on which pre-Norman Mercia could draw. In the angelic figure is expressed the near-classical tastes to which Anglo-Saxon monastic art so often aspired. And in the font we are reminded of the learning and the wealth of interior meanings on which the Deerhurst community could draw.

"Not a very interesting church" wrote my daughter. For once, I disagree with her.

Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to the Friends of Deerhurst Church for their invitation to give the Lecture in 2002. This text represents a slightly more formal version of the lecture delivered in that year. This was illustrated by a large number of slides which cannot be reproduced here but I have tried to supply references which will allow the assiduous reader to trace relevant illustrations. I am deeply indebted to the following for their comments and assistance: Steve Bagshaw, Martin Biddle and Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle, John Blair, Richard Bryant, Eric Cambridge, Richard Gem, James Graham-Campbell, Michael Hare, Jane Hawkes, Steven Plunkett, Philip Rahtz, Lorna Watts and David Wilson. They cannot, however, be held responsible for any errors of fact or opinion in my text.

The following abbreviations are used:

CSEL: Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Vienna.

CCSL: Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, Turnhout.

Rahtz and Watts 1997: Rahtz, P. and Watts, L., *St Mary's Church Deerhurst, Gloucestershire: Fieldwork, Excavations and Structural Analysis 1971–1984* (Report of Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 55), Woodbridge.

Taylor and Taylor 1965–1978: Taylor, H. M. and J., *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, I–III, Cambridge.

TBGAS: Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society.

Webster and Backhouse 1991: Webster, L. and Backhouse, J., *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture A.D. 600–900*, London.

Endnotes

1 Knowles, W. H., 'Deerhurst priory church', *Archaeologia*, 77, 1927, 141–64. For Knowles see obituaries in *Archaeologia Aeliana* 4, 21, 1943, 248–53 and TBGAS, 63, 1943, 271–4.

2 In general see, with further references: Taylor and Taylor 1965–1978, I, figs. 87–88; Rahtz and Watts 1997, fig. 89, Tables VII and VIII.

3 Rahtz, P., *Excavations at St Mary's Church, Deerhurst 1971–73* (CBA Res. Rep. 15), London, 1976, pls. VIIb, c; Rahtz and Watts 1997, 25–6, Table VIII and figs. 34–36.

4 Published illustrations are of variable quality, particularly those using line drawings. Among the best available photographs are: (a) chancel-arch beast in Webster and Backhouse 1991, 188 (colour); (b) south door in Gilbert, E., 'Pre-Carolingian work at Deerhurst', *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 25, 1976, 67–75, pl. 2; (c) tower upper doorway in Rahtz and Watts 1997, fig. 82; (d) animals on inner door in: Brown, G. B., *The Arts in Early England*, II: *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, London, 2nd ed. 1925, fig. 82; Gilbert, E., 'Deerhurst Priory church revisited', TBGAS, 73, 1954, 73–114, pl. XIVa; Heighway, C., *Anglo-Saxon Gloucestershire*, Gloucester, 1987, 110; Webster and Backhouse 1991, fig. 27.

5 Rahtz and Watts 1997, Table VIII (2) summarise views on the original position of the label-stops now on the hood moulding of the inner west door. I am indebted to Michael Hare for drawing my attention to the paper which suggests their original find-spot in the area of the chancel: Butterworth, G., 'The history of Deerhurst church, Gloucestershire', *The Ecclesiologist*, 23, 1862, 89–101, at 95 and 97.

6 For examples of painting on pre-Norman sculptures consult the index entries in the various volumes of Cramp, R. J. (ed.), *The Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, Oxford, 1984–. See also: essays in Cather, S. et al. (eds),

Early Medieval Wall Painting and Painted Sculpture in England (BAR British Series 216), Oxford, 1990; Bailey, R. N., *England's Earliest Sculptors* (Publications of the Dictionary of Old English 5), Toronto, 1996, 5–7.

7 See colour reproduction of the chancel north-side beast in Webster and Backhouse 1991, 188.

8 Rahtz (note 3), pl. XI. I disagree with the circle-head reconstruction shown in his fig. 14, preferring a fan-shaped form analogous to a cross-head from Bath: see Kendrick, T. D., 'Fragment of a cross-head from Bath', *Antiquaries Journal*, 21, 1941, 75–6.

9 For such attachments see Bailey (note 6), 7–11 and Bailey, R. N., "'What mean these stones?'" (Toller Memorial Lecture, 1995), *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 78 (1), 1996, 21–46.

10 Hubert, J. et al., *Europe in the Dark Ages*, London, 1967, pls. 68, 73, 74.

11 On Sandbach see now Hawkes, J., *The Sandbach Crosses*, Dublin, 2002. For Lypiatt see Bryant, R., 'The Lypiatt cross', *TBGAS*, 108, 1990, 33–52.

12 E.g. Hart in County Durham: Cramp, R. J., *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, I: County Durham and Northumberland*, Oxford, 1985, pl. 417.

13 For Romsey see Green, A. R. and P. M., *Saxon Architecture and Sculpture in Hampshire*, Winchester, 1951, 35, pl. 10. For Newent see Heighway (note 4), 132.

14 It is relevant to notice here the recent work by Michael Hare which has shown that a triangular-headed slab on the internal wall at the east end of Deerhurst once carried a painted figure. There is also good documentary evidence for painted wooden panels in early insular monastic churches; for archaeological evidence for coloured plaster from Jarrow and Gloucester, Winchester and Nether Wallop see Cather et al. (note 6). The present pristine whitewashed plaster of the interior of Deerhurst is a modern construct.

15 Gem, R., 'Architecture of the Anglo-Saxon church, 735 to 870', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 146, 1993, 29–66, at 53 and 55.

16 See note 4.

17 Rahtz and Watts 1997, 175–9; Rahtz, P., *Deerhurst Above and Below Ground* (Deerhurst Lecture 2000), Deerhurst, 2001, 22.

18 Escomb is illustrated in Cramp (note 12), pl. 277. For Barnack see Taylor and Taylor 1965–1978, I, 45. For Limpley Stoke see Taylor and Taylor 1965–1978, I, 390 and III, 1057–8. For a local *ex situ* example of an architectural beast-head see the carving from Tolsey by Gloucester Cross illustrated in Brown, G. B., *The Arts in Early England*, VI (2): *Anglo-Saxon Sculpture*, London, 1937, pl. CXVIII.

19 Whitby: Peers, C. R. and Radford, C. A. R., 'The Saxon monastery at Whitby', *Archaeologia*, 89, 1943, 27–88, fig. 11. Alfred jewel: Hinton, D. A., *A Catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork in the Department of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, 1974, no. 23. Note also the general parallels afforded by the beast heads on the Ethilwald seal-die and North Elmham censer: Webster and Backhouse 1991, nos. 205, 206.

20 Heighway, C. and Bryant, R., *The Golden Minster: The Anglo-Saxon Minster and Later Medieval Priory of St Oswald at Gloucester* (CBA Res. Rep. 117), London, 1999, fig. 4.10.

21 Cramp, R. J., 'The Anglian tradition in the ninth century', in Lang, J. (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon and Viking Age Sculpture and its Context* (BAR British Series 49), 1–32, at 9–10.

22 For key and scabbard fitting see Webster and Backhouse 1991, nos. 176, 179. For the Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae see Alexander, J. J., *Insular Manuscripts, 6th to 9th Century*, London, 1978, pl. 166; its Worcester provenance is argued

in Brown, M., *The Book of Cerne: Prayer, Patronage and Power in Ninth-Century England*, London, 1996, 120, 167. The prokrossos over the entrance door carries an outlined jaw and spiralling eye details; round heads of this type are frequent in early ninth-century manuscripts.

23 Tweddle, D., *The Anglian Helmet from Coppergate (The Archaeology of York 17/8)*, London, 1992.

24 Webster and Backhouse 1991, no. 178.

25 Heighway and Bryant (note 20), 154.

26 There is a possible alternative explanation which would bridge the gap between my earlier (c. 800) dating of the carvings and the late ninth-century radio-carbon datings of Phase V. This would involve assuming that the blocked-out carvings from the second-floor opening in the tower (which seem reasonably assigned to Phase V) are later work imitating earlier decoration at ground floor level; their lack of decoration may thus be a function of date and not of height. As for the work at ground-floor level, the argument in Rahtz and Watts 1997 that the chancel arch and the external doorway on the main south porticus are both insertions and thus of Phase V, is not completely convincing. Equally, however, I must recognise that Philip Rahtz' detailed analysis is based upon an unrivalled knowledge of, and much thought about, the fabric and cannot be dismissed lightly. For concerns about dating and phasing at Deerhurst see the multi-authored review in *Church Archaeology*, 2, 1998, 19–28. Throughout this paper I have tended to date the sculpture early within the possible art-historical range; it is only proper to register that others would argue for a generally later dating for the whole structure: see review by John Blair of Rahtz and Watts 1997 in *Early Medieval Europe*, 7(3), 1998, 370–1.

27 Stocker, D. and Everson, P., 'Rubbish recycled: a study of the re-use of stone in Lincolnshire', in Parsons, D. (ed.), *Stone: Quarrying and Building in England AD 43–1525*, Chichester, 1990, 83–101, esp. 93–8.

28 Good photographs can be found in: Rodwell, W., 'Anglo-Saxon painted sculpture at Wells, Breamore and Barton on Humber', in Cather et al. (note 6), 161–75, pl. 11; and de Miguel, M. P. M., 'Anglo-Saxon figure sculpture at St Mary's Priory Church, Deerhurst', *TBGAS*, 115, 1997, 29–40, fig. 1; Cramp, R. J., 'Tradition and innovation in English stone sculpture of the tenth to the eleventh centuries', in Milošević, V. (ed.), *Kolloquium über spätantike und frühmittelalterliche Skulptur*, III, 1972, fig. 3.

29 E.g.: Knowles (note 1), 146; Talbot Rice, D., *The Byzantine Element in Late Saxon Art*, Oxford, 1947, 10; Gardner, A., *English Medieval Sculpture*, London, 1951, 45; Cramp (note 28), 145–6.

30 Rodwell (note 28), pls. 8–10 shows a stone from Barton on Humber where only the head of a figure is carved, the rest of the stone being left blank for painting. Paint on the Deerhurst Virgin was noted in Casson, S., 'Byzantine and late Anglo-Saxon sculpture, II', *Burlington Magazine*, 62, 1933, 26–35, at 32, and in Talbot Rice (note 29), 10.

31 Grabar, A., 'L'image clipeata chrétienne', in Grabar, A., *L'art de la fin de l'antiquité et du moyen âge*, Paris, 1968, I, 607–1.

32 The distinction may carry a difference in iconographical meaning.

33 Seals: Zacos, G. and Vegler, A., *Byzantine Lead Seals*, Glückstadt, 1972, I(1), pl. 9. Khandisi sculpture: Mepisashvili, R. and Tsintsadze, V., *The Arts of Ancient Georgia*, London, 1979, 235. Gold discs: Cavallo, G. et al., *I Bizantini in Italia*, Milan, 1982, pl. 286.

34 Forsyth, G. and Weitzmann, K., *The Monastery of St Catherine at Mount Sinai*, Michigan, 1968, pl. XCIII; van Moorsel, P., 'Forerunners of the Lord: saints of the Old Testament in medieval Coptic church decoration', *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 37, 1989, 119–33, pl. 16.

35 Lang, J. T., 'The imagery of the Franks Casket', in Hawkes, J. and Mills, S. (eds), *Northumbria's Golden Age*,

Stroud, 1999, 246–55, at 254.

36 Late Byzantine appearances: Pitarakis, B., 'À propos de l'image de la Vierge orante avec le Christ-Enfant', *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 48, 2000, 45–58; Grierson, P., *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, 3(1), Washington, 1973, 170–4, pls. XLVII, LVII; Hendy, M. F., *Catalogue of Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collections*, 4(1–2), Washington, 1999, pls. 2, 18. Venice: Rodwell (note 28), pl. 12.

37 The Syriac Bible is conveniently illustrated in de Miguel (note 28), fig. 2; the Ecmiadzin Gospels image is reproduced in Crippa, M. A. and Zibawi, M., *L'art paléochrétien: des origines à Byzance*, Paris, 1998, pl. 375. For the Mount Sinai icon see Weitzmann, K., *The Monastery of St Catherine at Mt Sinai: The Icons*, Princeton, 1976, pl. LXXVI. The Bawit fresco is reproduced in Morey, C. R., 'The sources of medieval style', *Art Bulletin*, 7(2), 1924, 35–50, pl. XXIV, fig. 10 and the Byzantine lead seals in Zacos and Veglery (note 33), pl. 11.

38 de Miguel (note 28), fig. 3; Avery, M., 'The Alexandrian style in Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome', *Art Bulletin*, 7, 1925, 131–49, fig. 37.

39 Dushman, R., 'Servants of the mother of God in Byzantine and medieval Art', *Word and Image*, 5(1), 1989, 33–70, fig. 19.

40 Mepisashvili and Tsintsadze (note 33), 187.

41 Kendrick, T. D., *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, London, 1949, pl. LI.

42 Ehwald, R. (ed.), *Aldhelmi Opera Omnia (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi, 15)*, Berlin, 1919, 528–33, lines 171–7.

43 St John ivory: Lasko, P., *Ars Sacra, 800–1200*, London, 2nd ed. 1994, pl. 30. Lorsch Gospels cover: J. Hubert et al., *Carolingian Art*, London, 1970, pl. 211. Late Antique art: Crippa and Zibawi (note 37), pl. 397; Volbach, W. F., *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, Mainz, 1971, pls. 98, 221, 224, 227, 229.

44 Hoddum: Allen, J. R. and Anderson, J., *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1903, fig. 461. Byzantine ivories: Beckwith, J., *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, Harmondsworth, 1970, pl. 174; Casson, S., 'A Byzantine master', *Burlington Magazine*, 66(1), 1935, 184–7, pl. facing 187.

45 Henry, F., *Irish Art during the Viking Invasions*, London, 1967, pl. 90; Talbot-Rice, D., *English Art 871–1100*, London, 1952, pl. 36a.

46 This change was a persistent theme in Ernst Kitzinger's writings, as witness the following papers: 'Byzantine art in the period between Justinian and iconoclasm', *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongress*, Munich, 1958, 1–50; 'Christian imagery, growth and impact', in Weitzmann, K. (ed.), *A Symposium: Age of Spirituality*, New York, 1980, 141–63; 'Interlace and icons: form and function in early insular art', in Spearman, R. and Higgitt, J. (eds), *The Age of Migrating Ideas*, Stroud, 1993, 3–15.

47 Gem (note 15), 48, 53; Higgitt, J., 'Anglo-Saxon painted lettering at St Patrick's Chapel, Heysham', in Cather et al. (note 6), 38.

48 Cramp (note 12), pl. 116.

49 The best photographs are those in Rahtz and Watts 1997, pls. 29–30. A more oblique view can be found in Cramp (note 28), 139–48, pl. 68(2).

50 Brown (note 4), fig. 87 shows the panel before restoration. References to current views and earlier discussions of the in situ nature of this piece can be found in Rahtz and Watts 1997, 147.

51 Rahtz and Watts 1997, 166–75.

52 Cramp, R. J., 'Anglo-Saxon sculpture of the reform period' in Parsons, D. (ed.), *Tenth Century Studies*, London, 1975, 184–207, at 195 (note her slightly revised dating recorded in Rahtz and Watts 1997, 145); Kendrick, T. D., *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900*, London, 1938, 217.

53 Rahtz and Watts 1997, 174–5. See, however, the issues raised in note 26 above.

54 For Late Antique and early medieval examples of the banked curls see the seventh-century Boethius diptych (Hubert et al. (note 10), pl. 149) and Carolingian ivories (Lasko (note 43), pls. 30, 32).

55 Cramp (note 52), 195–6. For Bradford on Avon and Winterbourne Steepleton angels see Wilson, D. M., *Anglo-Saxon Art from the Seventh Century to the Norman Conquest*, London, 1984, pls. 253–5.

56 Arenberg Gospels and Sherborne Pontifical images: Temple, E., *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900–1066*, London, 1976, pls. 134, 167–8.

57 Hawkes, J., 'The Rothbury cross: an iconographic bricolage', *Gesta*, 35(1), 1996, 77–94, at 81.

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59 Routh, R. E., 'A corpus of the pre-Conquest carved stones of Derbyshire', *Archaeological Journal*, 94, 1937, 1–42, pl. XIV.

60 Webster and Backhouse 1991, no. 137.

61 See Brown (note 22).

62 See: Lang, J. T., 'Survival and revival in insular art: Northumbrian sculpture of the 8th to 10th centuries', in Spearman and Higgitt (note 46), 261–7; Jewell, R., 'Classicism of Southumbrian sculpture', in Brown, M. and Farr, C. (eds), *Mercia, An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe*, London, 2001, 247–62.

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64 In general see: James, M. R., 'Names of angels in Anglo-Saxon and other documents', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 11, 1911, 569–71; Kitzinger, E., 'The coffin reliquary', in Battiscombe, C. (ed.), *The Relics of St Cuthbert*, Oxford, 1956, 202–304, at 273–7. For texts see: Warren, F. E. (ed.), *The Antiphony of Bangor*, II (Henry Bradshaw Society 4), 1895, 85, 92; Lowe, E. A. (ed.), *The Bobbio Missal*, London, 1920, 153. For dating and location of the prayer books see: Sims-Williams, P., *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600–800*, Cambridge, 279–82; Webster and Backhouse 1991, nos. 162, 163; Brown (note 22), 151–5; Brown, M., 'Mercian manuscripts? The Tiberius group and its historical context', in Brown and Farr (note 62), 279–90, at 288.

65 Sims-Williams (note 64), 286.

66 The Book of Cerne unfortunately has just six archangels: Kuypers, A. (ed.), *The Prayer Book of Aedeluald the Bishop, Commonly Called the Book of Cerne*, Cambridge, 1902, 153.

67 Quirk, R. W., 'Winchester New Minster and its tenth-century tower', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 24, 1961, 23–35; Dodwell, C. R., *Anglo-Saxon Art: a New Perspective*, Manchester, 1982, 121–2; Gem, R., 'Towards an iconography of Anglo-Saxon architecture', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 46, 1983, 1–18, at 15–18.

68 Kitzinger (note 64); Cronyn, J. M. and Horie, C. V., *St Cuthbert's Coffin*, Durham, 1985.

69 Kitzinger (note 64), 279, 297–8; Brown, T. J. (ed.), *The Stonyhurst Gospel of St John* (Roxburghe Club), Oxford, 1969, 38 ff.; Kitzinger 1993 (note 46), 70.

70 Kuypers (note 66), 153.

71 Gomande, W. H., [Note on the Deerhurst font], *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 1, 1846, 65.

72 Fryer, A. C., 'Gloucestershire fonts, part 2: Saxon and early work', *TBGAS*, 32, 1909, 301–12, at 302.

73 Wolverhampton: Wilson (note 55), pls. 124, 125; Rix, M., 'The Wolverhampton cross-shaft', *Archaeological Journal*, 117, 71–81. A rectangular-section fragment carrying spiral ornament similar to Deerhurst is known from Elmstone Hardwicke, see: Fryer (note 72), 307, 308 and pl. facing 310; Dobson, D. P., 'Anglo-Saxon buildings and sculpture in Gloucestershire', *TBGAS*, 55, 1993, 261–76, at 269. Michael Hare, quoted by S. Bassett, *The Origins of the Parishes of the Deerhurst Area* (Deerhurst Lecture 1997), Deerhurst, 27, argues that the Elmstone Hardwicke carving may have been produced after that parish had passed into Deerhurst's hands but sculptural patronage and land ownership do not always match neatly.

74 Drake, C. S., *The Romanesque Fonts of Northern Europe and Scandinavia*, Woodbridge, 2002, xv and (specifically on Deerhurst) 33; Szarmach, P. et al., *Medieval England: An Encyclopedia*, New York, 1998, 99. The view that Deerhurst's font is a re-used Anglo-Saxon carving is widely held: Talbot Rice (note 45), 148; Mackay (note 63), 86; Stocker, D., 'Fons et origo; the symbolic death, burial and resurrection of English church fonts', *Church Archaeology*, 1, 1997, 17–23, at 23.

75 Jones, C. A., 'Old English fant and its compounds in the Anglo-Saxon vocabulary of baptism', *Medieval Studies*, 63, 2001, 143–92, at 171–2.

76 Thomas, C., *Tintagel, Arthur and Archaeology*, London, 1993, 108–9; Rodwell, W. and K., 'St Peter's church, Barton on Humber: excavation and structural study, 1971–81', *Antiquaries Journal*, 62, 1982, 283–315, at 298–9, fig. 6 and pl. XLIa.

77 The following have been claimed as pre-Conquest on ornamental grounds but their decoration could be Norman: Cabourne; Castle Frome; Holton – see Taylor and Taylor 1965–1978, I, 127, 153, 318. Little Billing's inscription is discussed in Taylor and Taylor 1965–1978, III, 1064–5 and E. Okasha, *Anglo-Saxon Non-runic Inscriptions*, Cambridge, 1971, 97–8. For Potterne see: Taylor and Taylor 1965–1978, III, 1065; Okasha 1971, 149; Morris, R., 'Baptismal places: 600–800', in Wood, I. and Lund, N. (eds), *Peoples and Places in Northern Europe, 500–1600*, Woodbridge, 15–24, at 17. Melbury Bubb is illustrated in Talbot Rice (note 45), pl. 30b and Wilne in Routh (note 59), pl. 21. For Wells see Rodwell (note 28), pls. 2–4.

78 Morris (note 77), 20. In general see also: Foot, S., 'By water and the spirit: the administration of baptism in early Anglo-Saxon England', in Blair, J. and Sharpe, R. (eds), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*, Leicester, 1992, 170–92 and the possible links between baptism and certain Northumbrian sculptures in Lang, J. T., 'The apostles in Anglo-Saxon sculpture in the age of Alcuin', *Early Medieval Europe*, 8, 1999, 271–82. I am grateful to John Blair for sight of the relevant section of his forthcoming book, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, which has an important treatment of this topic. For wells and churches see Morris, R., *Churches in the Landscape*, London, 1989, 84–91.

79 See note 73.

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81 Plunkett, S., *Mercian and West Saxon Decorative Stone Sculpture* (University of Cambridge, unpublished Ph.D. thesis), Cambridge, 1984. See also Plunkett, S. J., 'The Mercian perspective', in Foster, S. (ed.), *The St Andrews Sarcophagus*, Dublin, 1998, 202–26.

82 On this group see: Cottrill, F., 'Some pre-Conquest stone carvings in Wessex', *Antiquaries Journal*, 15, 1935, 144–

51; Cramp (note 52), 186–7; Tweddle, D., ‘Anglo-Saxon sculpture in south-east England before c.950’, in Thompson, F. H. (ed.), *Studies in Medieval Sculpture*, London, 1983, 18–40, at 18–20; Foster, S., ‘A gazetteer of the Anglo-Saxon sculpture in historic Somerset’, *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History*, 131, 1987, 49–80, at 53–5; Tweddle (note 23), 1144, 1147–8; Tweddle, D. et al., *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, IV: South-East England, London, 1995, 36–40; Cramp, R. J., ‘Pre-Conquest sculpture of Glastonbury Monastery’, in Binski, P. and Noel, W. (eds), *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures*, Stroud, 2001, 148–62, at 155–8.

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85 Wilson (note 55), 81; Budny, M. and Graham-Campbell, J., ‘An eighth-century bronze ornament from Canterbury and related works’, *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 97, 1981, 7–25, at 11; Tweddle (note 23), 1164. The pendant carrying filigree spirals from the Trewhiddle hoard (terminally dated by coins to c.868) shows a continued use of spirals, presumably into the ninth century, but in a technically-isolated medium: Wilson, D. M. and Blunt, C. F., ‘The Trewhiddle hoard’, *Archaeologia*, 98, 1961, 75–122, at 93–6.

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87 Webster and Backhouse 1991, no. 210 (with refs.); Brown, G. B. (note 18), pl. LXXXVIII.

88 Dymchurch: Wilson, D. M., *Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork, 700–1100*, London, 1964, fig. 1. Abingdon sword and Alfred Jewel: Hinton (note 19), 1–7, 29–48; Æthelswith ring and Cuthbert embroideries: Wilson (note 55), figs. 106, 205–7.

89 BL Royal 1 E VI, f.4a: Wilson (note 55), pl. 103; Webster and Backhouse 1991, no. 171. Book of Cerne: Brown (note 22), fig. 1.

90 Alexander (note 22), no. 36; Webster and Backhouse 1991, 206 (in colour). Both the Royal Bible and the Book of Cerne have a cluster of four pellets at the base of leaves which is relevant to one of the Deerhurst forms – Brown (note 22), figs. 1 and 18.

91 Brown 2001 (note 64), 279–90, list at 282.

92 Perler, O., ‘L’inscription du baptistère de Sainte Thècle à Milan et le De sacramentis de Saint Ambroise’, *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, 27, 1951, 145–66, esp. 151.

93 Ambrose: CSEL, 64, repr. 1962, 347. Augustine: CSEL, 34(2), 1898, 194; translation from Schaff, P. (ed.), *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, I: The Confessions and Letters of St Augustine, Michigan, 1956, 310.

94 CCSL, 122, 1955, 167; translation from Martin, L. T. and Hurst, D. (trans.), *Bede the Venerable: Homilies on the Gospels*, I (Cistercian Studies 110), Kalamazoo, 1991, 230.

95 Some of the issues involved are examined in Wallis, F. (trans.), *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, Liverpool, 1999.

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97 Book of Kells: Werner, M., ‘Crucifixi, Sepulti, Suscitati: remarks on the decoration of the Book of Kells’, in O’Mahony, F. (ed.), *The Book of Kells*, Aldershot, 1994, 450–88, at 461. Clonmacnoise

- 97 Book of Kells: Werner, M., 'Crucifixi, Sepulti, Suscitati: remarks on the decoration of the Book of Kells', in O'Mahony, F. (ed.), *The Book of Kells*, Aldershot, 1994, 450–88, at 461. Clonmacnoise: Henry, F., *Irish Art in the Early Christian Period to A.D. 800*, London, 1965, pl. 85. Nigg: Henderson, I., 'The cross-slab at Nigg, Easter Ross', in Binski, P. and Noel, W. (eds), *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures*, Stroud, 2001, 115–47, at 132, fig. 4. The symbolism is found frequently elsewhere in insular sculpture and metalwork, see Richardson, H., 'Number and symbol in early Christian Irish art', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 114, 1984, 28–47, at 31–2.
- 98 CSEL, 35, 1947, 13. Translation in Schaff, P. (ed.), *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 6, Michigan, 1974, 7.
- 99 Dyson, R. W. (ed. and trans.), *The City of God Against the Pagans*, Cambridge, 1998, 1182.
- 100 CCSL, 123B, 1977, 544; translation from Wallis (note 95), 249.
- 101 CCSL, 122, 1955, 101–2, and see also 77; translation from Martin and Hurst (note 94), 143, and see also 108–11.
- 102 Thorpe, B. (ed.), *The Homilies of Ælfric*, London, 1844, 228. See also Godden, M. (ed.), *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series (Early English Text Society s.s. 5)*, London, 1979, homily 4, lines 277–93. Note also, from the same period, *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion*: Crawford, S. (ed.), *Byrhtferth's Manual (Early English Text Society 177)*, London, 1929, 214.
- 103 Krautheimer, R., *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, London, 4th ed. 1986, 90–2, 468–9, pl. 47.
- 104 In general see: Davies, J. G., *The Architectural Setting of Baptism*, London, 1962, 19–22; Underwood (note 96), 80–7, 131–8; Krautheimer, R., 'Iconography of medieval architecture', in Krautheimer, R., *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art*, London, 1971, 115–50, at 123 and 132–3. For Ravenna see Kostof, S. K., *The Orthodox Baptistery of Ravenna*, New Haven, 1965. For Poitiers, Lyons and Fréjus see Heitz, C., *La France pré-romane*, Paris, 1987, 23, 25, 54, 55, 65, 68. For Cividale see Talbot Rice, D. (ed.), *The Dark Ages*, London, 1965, 166.
- 105 Kjølbye-Biddle, B., 'Anglo-Saxon baptisteries of the seventh and eighth centuries', *Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae*, II, Vatican City/Split, 1998, 757–78, at 760 and fig. 2.
- 106 Rodwell (note 28).
- 107 Krautheimer 1971 (note 104), 122.
- 108 The present octagonal base to the stem seems to be a later re-cutting but obviously reflects a continuation of the same symbolism. The Deerhurst community must also have been sensitive to the implications of the font's fruiting scroll borders as: (a) a visual representation of Christ and His church ("I am the vine, you are the branches"); (b) a symbol of the Eucharistic re-enactment of his sacrifice; (c) and evoking a set of baptismal allusions which we catch in St Ambrose: "Catechumens, because of their sins, begin to flower when they come into the baptistery and are watered by the font". (CSEL, 73, 1955, 46; translation from O'Reilly, J., 'Exegesis and the Book of Kells', in O'Mahony (note 97), 344–97, at 384–5).
- 109 Whitelock, D., *English Historical Documents*, I, London, 1955, 472–3.